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IN THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT HOW WE MIGHT OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, AND HOW WE MIGHT RESTORE THAT RELATIONSHIP TO THE CONSTRUCTIVE, MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL ONE WE ENJOYED EARLIER THIS YEAR.

LET US BE CANDID: WE DO NOT MINIMIZE OUR CURRENT DIFFERENCES IN OUTLOOK ON CERTAIN SUBJECTS, NOR DO WE BELIEVE THAT ALL DIFFERENCES AND IMPEDIMENTS CAN BE SWEEPED AWAY IN A FLASH. AS SERIOUS PEOPLE REPRESENTING GREAT AND SERIOUS NATIONS WITH AWESOME RESPONSIBILITIES TO OUR OWN CITIZENS AND THE WORLD, WE NEED TO SPEAK PLAINLY. THE MISSION ENTRUSTED TO ME BY THE PRESIDENT REQUIRES SUCH PLAIN SPEAKING, AND SO DOES THE CURRENT STATE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. IN THAT SPIRIT, I WILL REFRAIN FROM EMPLOYING THE FLOWERY PHRASES OFTEN USED ON SUCH OCCASIONS AND SHARE WITH YOU MY SENSE OF THE TASK BEFORE US.

THE AMERICAN SIDE TAKES IT AS A GIVEN THAT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP IS VITALLY IMPORTANT. WE CATEGORICALLY REJECT THE PROPOSITION VOICED IN SOME QUARTERS THAT A HEALTHY, POSITIVE U.S.-CHINA RELATIONSHIP IS LESS IMPORTANT, OR EVEN IRRELEVANT, IN A PERIOD OF SHEEPING CHANGE IN WHAT USED TO BE CALLED THE COMMUNIST WORLD. PRESIDENT BUSH CARES DEEPLY ABOUT OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA; HE AND HIS ADMINISTRATION UNDERSTAND WELL THE IMPORTANCE OF CLOSE TIES.

EARLIER THIS YEAR, PRESIDENT BUSH HIMSELF STATED TO PRESIDENT YANG SHANGKUN: "CHINA AND HER PEOPLE WILL ALWAYS HOLD A VERY SPECIAL PLACE IN BARBARA'S HEART AND IN MINE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE CHINESE PEOPLE

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HAVE JOINED IN A HISTORIC RENDEZVOUS THAT HAS BECOME A PERMANENT FRIENDSHIP GROUNDED IN COMMON INTERESTS AND PRODUCTIVE COOPERATION." PRESIDENT BUSH HAS NOT ALTERED THAT VIEW IN THE LEAST. ON THIS POINT I CAN GIVE YOU AN ABSOLUTE ASSURANCE.

SO WE NEED TO DISCUSS FRANKLY WHAT HAS OCCURRED SINCE THE DEMONSTRATIONS IN TIANANMEN SQUARE THIS PAST MAY AND JUNE. MORE PARTICULARLY, WE NEED TO SEEK SOLUTIONS -- AND PREFERABLY QUICK SOLUTIONS -- TO THE

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DIFFICULTIES WHICH NOW CONFRONT US. WE NEED, IN A WORD,
TO RESTORE FORWARD MOMENTUM.

FOR OUR PART, WE DO NOT SEE THE CURRENT IMPEDIMENTS
OF PERCEPTION AND POLICIES TO BE INSURMOUNTABLE. QUITE
THE CONTRARY. WE HAVE BEEN THROUGH OTHER DIFFICULT
PERIODS SINCE OUR NEW RELATIONSHIP BEGAN IN THE EARLY
1970S, AND WE OVERCAME THOSE DIFFICULTIES THROUGH
DILIGENCE, FLEXIBILITY AND A COMMON WILLINGNESS TO
RECOGNIZE THE PARTICULAR REQUIREMENTS OF THE OTHER SIDE.

LET US BEAR IN MIND THAT EACH SIDE REPRESENTS A
SOVEREIGN NATION WITH ITS OWN DEEPLY-HELD VALUES AND
IDEOLOGY; EACH THEREFORE INVESTS A SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT
OF NATIONAL "FACE" IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE OTHER;
AND EACH FORMULATES A FOREIGN POLICY RESTING UPON A
COMPLEX SET OF DOMESTIC REALITIES. FOR THAT REASON, WE
COMMEND THE WISDOM OF YOUR SENIOR LEADERS WHO RECENTLY
TOLD FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON AND FORMER SECRETARY
KISSINGER THAT WE NEED TO MOVE FORWARD TOGETHER.

PRESIDENT BUSH WISHES TO MOVE FORWARD -- TOGETHER.

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DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS NIACT TO GEN SCOWCROFT AND
DEPUTY SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER ABOARD USAF 24126

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, CH

SUBJECT: PROPOSED TOAST FOR GEN SCOWCROFT BANQUET HOSTED

HE HAS ALREADY TAKEN A NUMBER OF COURAGEOUS POLITICAL
STEPS DOMESTICALLY TO SIGNAL THAT DESIRE. AT SOME
RISK, HE SIGNIFIED HIS READINESS TO CONTINUE OUR
COOPERATION ON THE PEACE PEARL PROJECT, HE WORKED TO
DEFEAT THE CONGRESSIONAL SANCTIONS BILL, AND HE HANDLED
THE PELOSI BILL IN A WAY CALCULATED TO MAXIMIZE HIS
EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY AND FUTURE FLEXIBILITY.

WE NEED NOW TO BUILD ON THOSE STEPS AND IMPROVE
THE ATMOSPHERE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP. THAT, FRANKLY
SPEAKING, IS THE ONLY MEANS WE HAVE TO PREVENT FURTHER
ACTIONS WHICH MAY TIE THE PRESIDENT'S HANDS. AND WE
HAVE ONLY FIVE OR SIX WEEKS TO DO SO BEFORE THE
U.S. CONGRESS RECONVENES.

WE KNOW WHAT ITEMS ARE ON OUR AGENDA FOR THESE
MEETINGS. LET US DEVISE AN APPROACH WHICH REFLECTS OUR
JUDGMENT -- A JUDGMENT AFFIRMED IN PRACTICE OVER ALMOST

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TWO DECADES OF AN EVER-EXPANDING RELATIONSHIP -- THAT A
HEALTHY U.S.-CHINA RELATIONSHIP IS IN OUR COMMON INTEREST

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AND IN THE INTEREST OF ALL MANKIND.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT OUR TALKS CAN HAVE TWO POSSIBLE OUTCOMES. IF WE ARE SUCCESSFUL, WE CAN PUT THE BUILDING BLOCKS OF OUR STRATEGIC, ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND MILITARY RELATIONSHIP BACK INTO PLACE. IF WE FAIL IN THE MISSION ENTRUSTED US OVER THESE TWENTY-FOUR HOURS, WE MAY WELL BE SPEAKING OF THE U.S.-CHINA RELATIONSHIP IN TERMS OF PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE EXCHANGES AND BENEFITS REMINISCENT OF THE MID-1970S RATHER THAN IN TERMS OF THE GROWING STRATEGIC AND ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP OF THE MID-1980S, A PARTNERSHIP WITH VAST POTENTIAL FOR OUR TWO NATIONS AND PEOPLES.

I ASK YOU NOW TO JOIN ME IN A TOAST TO THE HEALTH OF MINISTER QIAN, TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR TALKS AHEAD, AND TO THE RESUMPTION OF A STRONG AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP.

GANBEI.

END TEXT OF PROPOSED TOAST.
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